1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

During a funeral the people wept and danced, while they lamented the dead as follows:

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena.	O father, you are lying, your face.
E koro e, aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Father, alas for us, father, father who brought us much food,
Ika nui e, koreha nui e, koira nui e,	Many fish, many eels, many conger eels,
Toa nui e, maika nui e.	Much sugar cane, many bananas.

The woman wept enumerating all that her husband had done:

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena,	O father, you are lying, your face,
Aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Alas for us, father, O father who brought much food,
Ika nui e, uhi nui e, kumara nui e,	Many fish, many yams, many sweet potatoes,
Koreha nui e, toa nui e, maika nui e,	Many eels, much sugar cane, many bananas,
E koro tae noinoi ki hare era e,	O father who did not go begging to the houses of others.
Aue koro e, i ngaroro ai e.	He is lost.
E koro ika nui, o hau tangitangi e.	O father, great fisherman, your taut line sung.
Aue taua e.	Alas for us two.

The wife wept each time she saw an article of food that reminded her of her husband. At a woman's funeral the men wept, but did not sing. They merely said:

Aue hua e takatore nui e, heke nui e, tuamingo nui e.	O lady, you brought always many shells, many octopus, many *tuamingo* [species of fish].

The family contributed to the heavy funeral expenses. Relatives paid singers who improvised songs called *ate atua* (praising the dead). The singers sat in two rows with the women in front and the men behind. Only one man danced on the resounding board, a wooden slab placed over a hole in the ground.

Today when a native dies the catechist observes the Catholic rites. Everyone recites the prayers for the death and sings religious hymns. The only survival of the old ceremonial is a banquet held by the natives on the death day. Sometimes they even dance on this occasion. Such practices were severely condemned by Father Estella, who succeeded in shifting the mortuary feast to the day after death. The natives promised him that they would make no *umu* for great crowds, only small ones for the nearest relatives. The occasion of the priest's intervention was a feast celebrated after news of an Easter Islander's death in Chile had reached the island. The priest complained that the natives were excited by the banquet and could not refrain from speaking loudly and dancing the *upaupa*.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
● 533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized.

SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (91, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. 1, p. 260).

INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore.

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524).

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *nohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the
778 *kavakava-atua* plants.
533 What does the king make fertile in the country?
539 The mosses, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of the *kavakava-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
845 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

643 Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena
304 and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

element in the names of several kings, and an old chant alludes to the *tahonga*.

He naunau no ta Puku-naunau.	There is a sandalwood tree in Puku-naunau.
He rongo-rongo no ta Orongo.	There is a chanter at Orongo.
He tahonga no ta Puku-tahonga.	There is an expert craftsman in Puku-tahonga.
He kiakia no ta Puku-kiakia.	There is a *kiakia* bird on Puku-kiakia.

Present-day islanders still remember that the stone carvers were organized into a sort of guild. They were a privileged class, highly esteemed, and their profession was transmitted from father to son. To Geiseler (87, p. 13) and Thomson (215, p. 498) were pointed out natives who claimed to be the descendants of the image makers. They referred to their ancestors with as much pride as to the royal family. One of Thomson's guides "never missed an opportunity of stating that one of his forefathers was Uuratahui, the distinguished image maker."

Tepano told me that expert stone carvers (*tangata maori anga moai maea*) received orders from people who wanted a monument for their ahu. They worked under the leadership of a master (*tangata honui maori*) and were paid in fish, lobsters, and eels.

Expert fishermen were called *vaka-tangata* (people of the boat). They went fishing at the request of people who wanted fish.

RONGORONGO MEN

The sacred lore of Easter Island was stored in the memories of experts, called *tangata rongorongo*. Routledge (194, p. 244) is the first to apply this term to a special category of learned people. Present-day natives always speak of the chanters and learned men of the past as *tangata rongorongo*.

Thomson (215, p. 514) states that the knowledge of chants and of the so-called script associated with them was possessed only by members of the royal family, the chiefs of the six districts, the sons of the chiefs, and certain priests and teachers. There is little doubt that many experts belonged to aristocratic families. King Nga-ara, who was trained by his father, was one of the most famous *rongorongo* men of the nineteenth century. Other traditions, however, imply that chanters were numerous, and if this impression is correct, we may assume that nobility was not an absolute prerequisite for the profession. Probably on Easter Island as on Mangareva it was fitting for the king to possess the science of a priest, though it was not obligatory.

Little is known of the social functions of the *rongorongo* men. We know only that they taught chants in special schools, met once a year at Anakena to read the tablets, and gathered at Orongo during the annual competition of the bird-men (p. 390) where they "chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that is all" (194, p. 260).

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

463 533 171 The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island is analogous to the *tuhuna o'ono* of the Marquesas who served as "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He also taught the sacred chants and led the chanting at family feasts. There were chanting contests between the *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*.

On Mangareva there was a special class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo (taura rongorongo)*. They were responsible for the sacred chants for important festivals and recited genealogies and chants in praise of nobility at feasts organized by the king or by chiefs. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore—myths, legends, traditions, and historical narrative (28, p. 304).

Warriors

701 565 Thomson (215, p. 475) is mistaken when he assumes that "there was no class of professional fighters or soldiers; every able-bodied man was supposed to be a warrior and compelled to do duty in time of war." It is certainly true that most of the men of a tribe participated in a fight but the *matatoa* were nearly, if not exactly, professional warriors. As men of recognized courage and strength, they were expected to go to war and their presence in a battle was considered a guarantee of victory. Their prestige and the fear they inspired placed them in a special category above the average members of their tribes. They probably did no work. They might be compared to the Marquesan war leaders, *matahoha* (courageous faces, 104, p. 126).

[171] In the native texts two words are generally used to designate warriors—*matatoa* which applies to a man of military fame, and *paoa* which designates an ordinary soldier. *Paoa* also means "club" (the short club like the Maori *patupatu*). The expression *kai-tangata* or *paoa-kai-tangata* (cannibal-warriors) appears occasionally in legends in reference to fierce fighters. The use of *kai-tangata* in this sense forms an exact parallel to the word *kaia* (famed warrior) of Mangareva.

[171] Legends and missionary accounts fully agree that the *matatoa* were not only the leaders in war but were also the actual rulers of the tribes. Some of the *matatoa* seem to have procured for themselves privileges usually reserved for the *ariki*. On this point Roussel (190, p. 428) says: "The custom transmitted up to our time requires that the fishermen hand over the tuna fish he caught to the chief or, in his place, to the matatoa." Similar conditions existed on Mangaia where the temporal power passed from the *ariki* of the Nga-ariki tribe to victorious warriors (31, p. 122). On Easter Island there is no specific record that a *matatoa* ever ruled over the whole island, but cer-

li Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

775 well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the [177] natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black fellow with fiery eyes.

[825] The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

● 533 539 773 776 A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless, and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.

Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihitupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.

A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.

Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.

A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.

He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.

A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.

A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te turéme.

A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te mataa.

Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-reheuru-arero, ka pu te rona.

God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).

Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.

Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.

The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.

Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.

Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.

Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.

Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *tureme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).

Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.

Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

1; Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Atua-Motua ki ai ki roto kia Riri-tuna-rai, ka pu te niu.

Atua-Motua ki ai ki roto ki te Vuhi-atua, ka pu te toro-miro.

Atua-Motua ki ai ki roto ki te Puhavao-atua, ka pu te moana.

A he Uru ki ai ki roto te Tumu, ka pu te marikuru.

A te Veke ki ai ki roto Pohuhutu-hutu-tere-vai-mangaro, ka pu te veke.

A Haiamea ki ai ki roto Hohio, ka pu te takaure.

A Ukia ki ai ki roto More-manga, ka pu te ngarava.

Vie Moko ki ai ki roto kia Tea, ka pu te kena.

Te Reheue ki ai ki roto Vie Raupa ka pu te raupa.

A he Roe ki ai ki roto Uuhipura [or Nuhepura], ka pu te roe.

Te Hatu ki ai ki roto kia te Api-al-raro, ka pu te toa.

Ira-pupue ki ai ki roto Ira-kaka, ka pu te pia.

Mangeongeo ki ai ki roto he Rake-rake, ka pu te kape.

A Hue ki ai ki roto Pana, ka pu te hue.

He Hina [He ima?] ki ai ki roto kia Rui-haka-ma-rui, ka pu te raa.

Huru-au ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te moa.

A Hikua ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te uraura.

Tingahae ki ai ki roto Pararara-hiku-tea, ka pu te niuhi.

A Hikue ki ai ki roto Hina-oioi, ka pu te taoraha.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hihohiho-ki-te-turu, ka pu te paroko.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hina-popoia, ka pu te Hina-kauhara.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Maea, ka pu te herahera-kiko-mea.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Rurua-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Ririkatea.

E timo te raenea [amura he ki te aro] mo tunu te ika, mo hangai i te ariki.

Parent-god by copulating with Angry-eel produced the coconut. 533

Parent-god by copulating with Vuhi-the-god produced the *toro-miro* tree. 539

Parent-god by copulating with Puhavao-the-god produced green-leaves. 773

Grove by copulating with Trunk produced the ashwood tree (*Sapindus saponaria*). 776

Dragon fly by copulating with Bug-that-flies-on-fresh-water produced the dragon fly.

Stinging-fly by copulating with Swarm-of-flies produced the fly.

Branch by copulating with Broken-crotch produced the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood.

Goddess Moko by copulating with Whiteness produced the gannet.

Reheue (?) by copulating with Goddess-leaf produced the leaves.

Ant by copulating with Uuhipura [or Nuhepura, Glowworm?] produced the ant.

Hard-soil by copulating with Covering-below produced the sugar cane.

Irrigation by copulating with Leaves produced the arrowroot.

Acridness by copulating with Bad-taste produced the arum.

Calabash by copulating with Pana (?) produced calabash.

Moon (?) by copulating with Darkness (?) produced Sun.

Feather by copulating with Hina-oio (?) produced the fowl.

Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oio produced the crayfish.

Killing by copulating with Flat-one-of-the-white-tail (the sting ray) produced the shark.

Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oioi (?) produced the whale.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Running-and-flowing-down [water] produced the rockfish.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Hina-the-heaped-up produced Hina-kauhara.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Stone produced burning-red-meat (?).

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Rurua-tiki-the-lord produced (king) Ririkatea.

He taught that the brook fish . . . were to be cooked and given as food for the king.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

533
539
773
776

Takoua ki ai ki roto Tukouo, ka pu te poopoo.
E Toto te uhi no kino no naroko no nga oreno, no nga tokotoko rua papa.

E puoko te maika no Tupa-iti[14] no Tupa-nui[14].
Uku ki ai ki roto kia Rori, ka pu te ngaatu.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Taurari, ka pu te ngaatu.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Rupe-roa, ka pu te turi.
Taaria ki ai ki roto Taaria, ka pu te tau-eehu.
Hainge (?) ki ai ki roto Hatukuti, ka pu te evea.
Pauaroroko ki ai ki roto Hakukuti, ka pu te tae-rongo-veteve.

Hini-rere-rere ki ai ki roto Kanohotata-poro, ka pu te poporo.

Numia a Tangaire turu herohero te toto o te o kovare.
Ka mau te kovare, taratara te kovare.
Turu ki te ua manau (?) manavai roa.
Ruanuku [raituahe a ana kihorou eaa e toe tua tanu to tana moko] eaha hangai e toe e uhi, e kumara.

Takoua by copulating with Tukouo produced the poopoo-fish.
(Thomson's translation: "E Toto discovered the sweet taste of the yam and made it the principal food of the people.")
The head of the banana is for King Tupa-iti and King Tupa-nui.
Uku (?) by copulating with Undulation produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia (?) by copulating with Wetness produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia by copulating with Pigeon produced the sea-gull.
Small-thing by copulating with Small-thing produced the imperceptible-thing.
Hainge (?) by copulating with Hatukuti produced the wind (?).
Pauaroroko (?) by copulating with Hakukuti (?) produced the free-ones-who-do-not-obey.
Delaying-to-run (?) by copulating with Staying-until-tomorrow produced the poporo plant.
It runs red, the blood of the *kovare*.

Abundant the *kovare*, rough the eels.
The rain falls in long drops.
Ruanuku . . .
. . . what was left to be fed on the yams and the sweet potatoes.

539
773
776

The value of this version of the chant is impaired by uncertain spellings, arbitrary translations, and the unintelligibility of the last part of the text which seems to have no connection with the first part. All attempts to discover the original sequence and meaning of the words failed despite the assistance of the natives. Though some parts of the text remain obscure, the general character is obvious. It is a typical Polynesian procreation chant patterned after the genealogical recitals stressed in eastern Polynesian society. The scheme of the chant is simple and monotonous. It consists of the enumeration of a series of natural objects, such as plants, animals, and celestial phenomena, represented as offspring of progenitors, some of whom are gods and others personified natural objects or abstract qualities belonging to the object supposed to have been produced by their union.

The names which could not be translated may refer to deities, but probably this will never be proved. The parents who are unmistakably gods are: Atua-Matariri (God-of-the-angry-face), whose name suggests the god Tu in New Zealand; Atua-metua (God-parent); Matua-anua, a name translated by Easter Islanders as "God-mother", a doubtful interpretation as he is a male. Motua-anua bears great resemblance to Anua-motua, the

[14] Tupa-iti and Tupa-nui are certainly proper names. Salmon makes Tupa synonymous with king, "King Tupa figures in Easter Island and in Mangareva, where he is said to have introduced various plants." This linking of the names from two areas is purely hypothetical.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

individual who assisted at the feast. At night the people at Orongo retired into the houses of their respective lineages. During the feast, if a group wanted to remain for a while in the house of the god, they had to put a circlet on the head of the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia (p. 298) which stood outside, and the people who had been there earlier left. (This rite as it is recorded here is meaningless.)

As September approached, the *hopu* on the islet paid increasing attention to the birds and spent all day reciting prayers or incantations. When they had reason to think that the birds had begun to lay eggs, they rushed out from the caves to look for them.

The *hopu* whose master was not designated by Makemake would step on an egg without seeing it, whereas the *hopu* of the candidate selected by the gods would see it immediately. As soon as he discovered the egg, he jumped on a stony prominence called Rangi-te-manu and from there he shouted, "So and so, puoko te varu (shave your head)." This announcement was heard by a man who kept watch in a cave below Orongo, called Haka-rongo-manu (Listening-for-the-birds).

Before returning to Orongo the unsuccessful *hopu* waited for the winner lest the crossing of the channel be unsafe. The winning *hopu* put his egg in a little basket which he dipped into the sea, and then tied to his forehead. The man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island. Being blessed by the gods and having with him an object overflowing with mana, he had little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with the protection of the gods, made the winning *hopu's* swimming not only safe but extremely fast.

At Orongo the *hopu* handed the egg to his employer who had in the meantime shaved his hair, his brows, and his eyelashes. A priest (Routledge says a *rongorongo*, which is very unlikely) tied a strand of red tape and a piece of sandalwood (*ngaungau*) around the bird-man's arm which was tapu from having received the egg. The priest recited a special incantation during the ceremony.

The relatives of the bird-man sang and danced (*hokohoko*), celebrating their victory. The bird-man held the egg on the palm of his hand wherein lay a piece of tapa (*haka epa*). He walked down the slopes of Rano-kao toward Mataveri, dancing and chanting. Tepano still remembered the tune of this chant, but unfortunately he did not know the words. It sounded like tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and "behaved like a god." He gave me the description as it had been given by the old men. "The men had dancing paddles (*rapa*) in their hands and they jumped with them. They wore on their heads wigs of women's hair, tapa headdresses or wreaths of *toro-miro* leaves. Tufts of women's hair hung be-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

574
431
602
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Years ago, the father of Victoria made two *koro*, one in behalf of the father-in-law and the other in behalf of the mother-in-law of his son, Miguel Rapahango. He wanted to make his son "big" (*haka honui taana poki*). The brothers and closest relatives and his other sons and daughters each contributed fowls or some kind of food. All these presents were to be returned some day. The fowls given by the brothers were delivered to the brothers and cousins of Miguel's father-in-law, Emilio Paoa, who received the *koro*. The other fowls were given to Emilio who bestowed them upon his brother (*motuha*).

The feast was celebrated in the house of Victoria's father and there were more than 250 fowls bound to two ropes. In the same place there was a big earth oven or food gift (*umu parehaoga*). The *motuha*, on the same day, made another earth oven in his house and brought the food to the house of Victoria's father. The food gift of the *motuha* was called *umu motuha*. He gave the food to Miguel Rapahango, who presented it to his own father. The food taken out of the earth oven of the *koro* giver was delivered to the father-in-law and to the people who helped.

Victoria remembered quite well that Miguel's wife untied one fowl and gave it to her father, Emilio Paoa, who took the other fowls presented by the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law and distributed them among his relatives of the Paoa family. The other fowls, with the exception of 20, he delivered to his brother. The brother distributed the fowls among his family and friends because he had no wife or other brothers. Emilio Paoa gave some fowls to his *tumu*, who is a neighbor, a man of a tribe living close by.

If the *koro* was celebrated for a mother-in-law, she gave the fowls to her brother, he to his wife, the wife to her brother, and so on. During the feast the people sang this song: [533 539]

I o te korongo mai nei	Here is the feast sung
I Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai	In Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai (name of a place)
Rima turu, turu.	Hands raising, raising.

I asked Tepano to imagine that Beatriz, who was the wife of his son Jorge, made a *koro* for him. Tepano said he would give the fowls to his brother, Pakomio. Pakomio would present them to his wife and she to her brother. A cousin of Pakomio's wife could make a *koro* and the presents would come back in the same way. Sometimes a brother of the father-in-law of the *motuha* might give fowls to his brother, who in turn gave them to his wife; she delivered them to her daughter, the *motuha's* wife. The *motuha*, Tepano's uncle, would give the fowls back to Tepano.

As a rule one never made a *koro* for his brother or his cousins, but if one were an orphan he sometimes celebrated a *koro* for an elder brother. The present made in a *koro* was called *mee ravaa* (?) or *mahia*. A *koro* could be celebrated in honor of a dead father (*koro puoko mata*, feast of the dead skull of the father). The paternal uncle received it for the dead. The son who offered such a *koro* was assisted by his brothers, his cousins, and his friends.

There were no *koro* in winter because the earth ovens of the *koro* are "finished" (*umu koro huri*). The man who presented a *koro* during the month of July made a special earth oven which was called *umu anakena*. In it he cooked some fowls which he gave to the *motuha*. Tepano informed me once that the *motuha* could keep 5 or 10 fowls. They were called *haokuku*. The *motuha* brought to the feast from 20 to 50 fowls which he delivered to his

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The Feast of the Boat

Near Vaihu there is a mound, called *miro-oone* (the earth-ship). A feast which consisted in imitating the activities, postures, and language of a ship's crew used to be celebrated over it. Some of the natives were the *mataroa* or sailors and others the officers. The last of these shows was given not long ago, for the father of the present catechist, Timoteo Pakarati, is remembered as having played with great success the role of a captain. On this occasion songs were sung, one of which I transcribe below. This song was also considered an improvization to welcome a man by the name of Toorangi of the Eapaea lineage who came from Chile as a sailor.

E Toorangi a Eapaea e,	O Toorangi of Eapaea,
A te kapu mai hiva e,	He that came from abroad,
Ka hakaava ro	They are pushing forward
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards),
E Toorangi a Eapaea e.	O Toorangi of Eapaea.
Ka hakatata haro	They make incline
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards)
O Toorangi o te miro,	Of Toorangi of his ship,
Kahu aava.	The sail is inflated.

First Tepano assumed that this ship represented the big canoe built by Tuapoi, a legendary character (p. 382); then he said that it was Captain Cook's ship. The feast is no longer performed, but on the first day of the year the natives dress in navy uniforms and perform exercises which imitate the maneuvers of ships' crews.

Routledge understood that these dances commemorated Captain Cook's visits and that Cook and his English sailors were deified by the natives who erected big houses to celebrate his cult (*hare-a-te-atua*). This does not seem likely, for if the natives really had worshipped the Europeans why should they have chosen Cook, who was the third visitor to the island and who stayed on it a shorter time than the Spaniards?

The *hare-a-te-atua* mentioned by Routledge were probably big houses built for the feasts in which ceremonies and dances may have been performed. The feast of the ship, possibly very recent, was associated with ordinary feasts. My native informants stated that the *hare-a-te-atua* generally had nothing to do with the *miro-oone* or earth-ship.

GAMES

Surf-riding

Surf-riding (*ngaru*) is the only ancient Easter Island sport which has survived. As soon as days become warm, children go out to the surf with small planks on which they lie and let themselves be carried to shore by the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

526 [857] waves. Today grown men swim only when necessary and never indulge in surfing. The many volcanic rocks scattered along the coast make this sport extremely dangerous and it can be enjoyed at only a few places.

Owing to the scarcity of wood, the natives formerly used conical bundles of rushes (*pora*) instead of surfboards. Any construction for surfing was described by the phrase *papa mo hakaeke te ngaru*. Provided with rafts (*papa*), the young men went into the surf and awaited a big wave (*he irimai te vave nuinui*). When the wave reached its peak (*te iri mai te vave rahi-rahi*), they turned (*te tieve*) to catch the wave, stretching their legs straight behind them. With their hands they seized the *papa* and propelling the board with their feet, they let themselves be swept in to the shore.

Tales refer to young men who had surf-riding contests before big crowds gathered on the beach to admire their skill. Ordinary surf-riders catch the breaking waves, but strong young men of old went far away from the shore into a heavy surf, where they caught great unbroken swells.

A song still popular on the island is supposed to have been chanted at 526 surfing contests as a spell to make opponents fall, but it is also connected with 533 a string figure.

539 E Pua e, e Pua te Ohe Ohe e pua.

Te na nia he tama
Tera Hiro rangi [Te raa, hirorangi]
Paku, paku
Ruahie hati mai a hati pu.

(A place near the beach of Hangaroa where the children go surf riding.)
There on the top [of the board] is a youth
[The sun, the foam (?)]
The tide is low
Ruahie [a place near Hangaroa], the (wave) breaks and spends its force.

Sliding

524 857 514 There is a vague tradition that in olden days the boys used to slide on the slopes of the numerous volcanic hills scattered over the island. They sat on banana or ti leaves and slid down tracks on which they had urinated to make the path more slippery.

Concealing an Object

524 Estella (79, p. 25) describes a game which may be ancient. The players crouch or sit in a circle and secretly pass around some object. One player in the center of the circle tries to find the object; and while he is looking for it, he is abused and struck by the rest of the group. If he succeeds in getting hold of the object, he sits in the circle and the person who was discovered takes his place. During the entire game the players in the circle recite a monotonous chant. This last detail seems to indicate the antiquity of the game.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Sham Battles

The sham battle was one of the favorite entertainments of children. Divided into two sides, they threw at each other spears tipped by pieces of gourd shell in the shape of obsidian points (*taua pahera*). Legend states that children frequently discovered and substituted obsidian points for their harmless spear points (p. 376). Sham battles (*tuna*) in which either adults or children threw stones was another form of training for wars.

At feast gatherings, young men displayed their athletic skill in running, spear throwing, and other feats of dexterity (215, p. 468).

Throwing Game

Knoche (123, p. 202), describes a throwing game which was probably introduced from Tahiti or Mangareva. I never saw the game and the islanders never mentioned it to me.

A small groove 150 mm. long is traced on level ground. Across the groove they put a little stick 50 mm. long. The players have thin sticks 550 mm. long that they introduce under the small one to throw it as far as possible. The winner is the man who throws the piece of wood farthest.

Top Spinning

Spinning tops (*makoi*) were popular toys. They varied in type according to materials used. The most common top was a capsule of the *makoi* (probably *Thespesia populnea*), pierced through the middle by a round pin with two sharp, fire-hardened points. *Makoi-oone* were made of a clay found in craters. Children mixed it with water and sugar cane juice and left it to bake in the sun. A clay top is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22838). It is a hard, red clay ball, 28 mm. in diameter with a wooden handle 135 mm. long inserted through it. This object is listed in the catalog as a tattooing hammer, but its form makes such a use very unlikely.

Stone tops are said to have been large and were thrown without the use of a string into a stone basin, where they kept spinning for a long time. While the tops were spinning, children used to sing the following song:

Kanini te makoi nau opata.	Spin the top [made of *makoi* capsules] from the cliff.
Ka tuu te makoi miro rakerake;	The wooden top does not stand up well;
Kanini koe te makoi oone o te Rano-kao.	Spin the top made of the clay of the Rano-kao.

Kite Flying

Kites, called *manu hakarere* (flying birds), were made of tapa cloth and the head of a bird was painted on each of them. They were flown by children.

1: Metraux · E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

String Figures

524 Only thirty string figures (*kaikai*)[18] are remembered. The only woman
533 who knew them all was Amelia, the daughter of Tepano, who learned them from her father when she was a little girl. He had meanwhile forgotten them. A few simple string figures were more widely known. Each figure has a special chant which accompanies it. These chants are very popular though most people do not understand their meanings and are generally unable to make the corresponding string figures. All named string figures supposedly represent some object—part of the body (hair, penis), a spearhead (*mata*), a mat, an ahu with stone images, a bay, and so on; some represent characters in a legend, and the accompanying chants are narrated as if spoken by the character at a critical moment.

524 The natives state that string figures were used to memorize popular chants
533 and to recall tales. I was told that children were taught to make them and were obliged to memorize the accompanying chants before they were in-
867 structed in the sacred lore of the tribe and the art of carving tablets. A few
177 string figures with chants have been introduced recently from Tahiti. Their foreign origin was always pointed out by the natives.

Introduced Toys

524 Bows and arrows were introduced as toys either by Father Roussel or by
177 Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti. The natives call them by a Tahitian
526 name (*fana*) and consider them quite modern. The islanders were acquainted with slings only after their contact with Tahitians. Father Roussel is said to have taught the children to jump rope.

Gambling

525 The men of the island are passionate gamblers. They play mostly Chilean card games or gamble with pieces of money following the rules of a widespread South American game. Islanders gamble most at the end of the shearing season when they have been paid by the English Company.

MUSIC AND POETRY

Instruments

534 Before contact with Europeans the Easter Islanders had only two musical instruments, the percussion plate and the shell trumpet (*pu*). Existence of the shell trumpet is attested only by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 48). The name *pu* is included in the early Easter Island vocabularies, though the present natives assert that it was introduced from Tahiti. A stone with a hole in it

[18] Twenty-eight original string figures have been collected and will be published separately with their corresponding chants.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

(p. 310) is called Pu-o-Hiro (the Trumpet-of-Hiro). The percussion plate was made by digging a hole about 3 feet deep and 1 or 2 feet wide. A large gourd, half filled with tapa or grass, was placed in the hole, which was covered with a thin stone slab. A man stepped on the slab, and with his feet beat time for dancers and singers. 534

Singing

Ancient music has disappeared, with the exception of two songs which, though not very old, seem to give a faint idea of the rhythm and character of the genuine native music. Unfortunately I had no phonograph and could record only the text. The first song was composed about 30 years ago and is always given as an example of the old music. It tells of the landing of some Chinese on Easter Island. It was the first time the natives had seen men with long hair and wrist watches. 533 ●

I rari te reka hiva	They are wet the joyful foreigners 533
Toe hakavie.	With hair like women.
I topa mai ai.	They landed here. 531
Mo toona hinete hora	For their watches riding on
I te rima	Their hands.
Ana tangi, tangi.	It sounds, it sounds.

The other old song, composed 40 or 50 years ago, is a short, satirical song which is repeated endlessly at feasts. It tells of the marital disgrace of Aru-manu-vie, a famous fisherman, whose wife had been stolen by a certain Rahi.

Rahi toke vie a Aru-manu-vie.	Rahi stole the wife of Aru-manu-vie.
Maitetuuapai toke mai ai	At Maitetuuapai he took
I te vie a Aru-manu-vie.	The wife of Aru-manu-vie.

On various occasions, Tepano called my attention to old classifications of songs which unfortunately were not very clear to him. He explained that the songs called *a-te-atua* or *hare-a-te-atua* were solemn, had something to do with the gods, and were chanted during great feasts. The *a-te-atua* alluded to the giver of the feast and lauded him. The name *hare-a-te-atua* may be compared to the name of the *areauti* feasts cited by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, pp. 66-67), but Routledge was informed that the *hare-atua* were large houses in which Captain Cook and his sailors were worshipped as gods. However, these large houses were probably *koro* houses in which feasts were held. The songs may well have been called after the place where they were sung. 533

The *a-te-hakakakai* dealt with war. The *koro hakaapo*, a chant with a "good" meaning, was characterized by the low, quiet tone in which it was sung. A lament or chant recited at funerals was a *riu*, though the confused informants associate this name with erotic compositions (*hoko riu*).

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

533
537

Lament

E hata tae kava	O bug that does not smell
E kakai koe ia, Tau-mahani, i te vie honui e.	You eat, Tau-mahani, the respectable woman.
E hata tae kava e,	O bug that does not smell,
E ka kai koe ia, Tau-mahani, i te vie honui e.	You eat, Tau-mahani, the respectable woman.

Hei songs were always called "bad" but I was never sure exactly what Tepano meant by "bad." He explained to me that these songs were injurious and were directed against an unfaithful woman or against a girl who paid no attention to the love of some man. He said that they were sung by a group [516] of men and women. The women squatted on their knees in front of the men who tramped the resonance box dug in the ground.

I obtained a single sample of a *hei* which was supposedly composed by a woman who had been abandoned by her husband of the Tupa-hotu tribe. After a few days he came back at night, scratching at the door. At first the wife thought that it was a rat and composed the following song:

Tupa-hotu rakerake	Tupa-hotu is bad
Tae tangitangi rikiriki.	I am not crying, not even a little.
Hove e kiore e nekuneku mai nei.	It is perhaps a rat that scratches here.
A koia o ku tata hakahou mai a.	He has come back here.

Only four love songs are remembered by present natives. The first describes a Miru girl who leaves her lover in the morning and is dampened with dew:

E Miru, a ivi rari i te hupe e	O Miru (girl), you are dampened to the bones by dew
I te hupe, hau[39] a Rano-aroi.	By the dew of the Rano-aroi.
Kae pakapaka i topa ro ai	You won't be dry when you go
Ki te roto tatau mahute	To soak the paper mulberry
Mo te nua hute pukao.	To make the cloth for the ribbon of your topknot.

The second chant is supposed to be recited by a girl whose younger sister loves the same man as she does.

E Mea, a tino mamahi rua e ki te iti, ki te nui e.	O Mea, for your body both the little and the big one are fighting.
He tonga, te pua, repa hoa	It is winter, my friend, the flower is very fragrant
Ka ao, ka ao, ka kava nei.	The flower is very fragrant.
He hora, te pua, repa hoa,	It is summer, the flower, my friend,
Ka mariri mai tooku aro nei, aue, aue.	Is withered on my breast, alas, alas.
Ku mataku mai a i te vie honui e,	The older wife is afraid,
He te kotaki mo haroa o te rei, o too rei mata nei.	Here is the wreath to hang an ornament, the ornament is your face.
He tou taina, e Mea e.	O my brother, O Mea.
E Mea a te raa e.	O Mea (Dawn) of the sun.
Taina paoloro[40] roa.	Sister indeed like a Spaniard.
I tua i te Ana-heu-neru e.	Behind the Cave-where-the-neru-live.

[39] *Hau*: drops of dew at dawn. The girl is symbolized by them.
[40] This word was translated as "Spanish," an interpretation that is confirmed by the last verse; Ana-heu-neru is a cave on the eastern promontory of the island.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

In this third chant the girl is compared to a fish whose fins are the girl's topknot. 533 539

E mau koe i te mate o te manava	You are sick with love
E tupa ki raro ki Ahu Akurenga.	You are a crab that lives below at Ahu Akurenga.
E ika tuutuu pukao.	You are a fish with topknot.
Mo raro koe,	You go down,
E ika, uka hoa e.	O fish, you are my girl friend.
Mo toro-miro tae hahati	For a *toro-miro* tree that cannot break
Hare-pepe[a] a matua vaai a	Seaweed of the parent separated by
Toka roaroa.	The long rock.

A married girl who is shut in the house of her father-in-law and wants to escape to meet her lover, sings the following song:

E Manu e, ka pari mai toto	O Manu, my blood oozes
Hare keri ena aaku i te po, e Manu e.	When I dig under the house, O Manu.
E au tae kai i te kumara	I do not eat the sweet potatoes
O tau korohua nei ko, Maea-te-renga.	Of this old man, Maea-te-renga.

The earliest literary allusion to singing in Easter Island is that by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 46). He describes a group of women gathered near the landing place who sang and made gestures of welcome. Eyraud describes briefly the singing at an *areauti* feast (p. 350). Loti (146, p. 28) gives the following poetical description of Easter Island music: 533

> They sing, the Maoris; they all sing beating their hands as if they were making a dance rhythm. The women utter notes as soft and fluty as those of birds. The men sometimes make small falsetto voices, thin, quavering, and shrill. Sometimes they produce cavernous sounds like the roars of enraged wild animals. Their music is made of short and jerky phrases, ending in gloomy vocalizations descending in minor tones. They seem to express the surprise of being alive and also the sadness of life. Notwithstanding, they sing in joy, in the childish joy of seeing us, in the pleasure of the small new things we bring them.

Less charming, but certainly more reliable, is the description given by Geiseler (87, p. 40):

> Great attention is paid to singing. Their singing has three parts with a sounding bass. They have a great many beautiful songs which sound quite nicely in this language abundant in vowels, although produced in the monotonous Polynesian way. Apart from game, dance, and love songs they have also chants for the dead, for the dying or wounded people. The principal characteristic of these songs is the deep bass. These songs are sung in a sitting posture with legs bent underneath. They have a leader who gives the pitch. At the beginning of each chant they accord their voices to a sort of scale so that they may appreciate the purity and the unison of the voices. The songs are accompanied with movements of legs and feet which are very lively.

At the time Geiseler visited the island, the natives had been subjected to missionary influence for a long time and had already learned all the splendid Tahitian *himene* which they still sing. The songs Geiseler collected are still 533 177

[a] *Hare-pepe*: seaweed in which fish are abundant, especially the *nishi*.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

533 177 known and do not seem to be very ancient. He obtained some recitations associated with string figures and one love song.

The present-day natives are very fond of singing. Their musical lore is abundant, though most of the songs are of Tahitian or Chilean origin. They pick up melodies quickly from seamen. Hymns taught them by missionaries have been transmitted through two and even three generations without the slightest change. These hymns consist of European motifs modified by Tahitian influence. Sophia Hei and another woman have a singing school where the girls gather twice a week to practice hymns for Sunday mass. The native choirs are well trained and sing in perfect harmony. [795 868]

533 The few old songs which are still remembered are sung while sitting on the heels, and the measure is marked by the balancing of the body from one side to the other. The word *rutua* means singing in choir or marking the cadence. In church the women singers squat on the floor. The voice of the leader, who always starts the song, is heard quite distinctly above those of the other singers. I heard the native songs only at church or when especially requested.

533 535 539 In days gone by the natives sang during feasts, and at the time of the changing moon they used to dance and sing in the evening and late into the night. As proof of their ability to improvise short musical pieces I transcribe here a song composed by Maria Ika, my informant's wife, on the occasion of the transporting of the stone image which is at present in the Museum of the Cinquantenaire in Belgium.

Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi a te hanga tomo	They hauled those who landed at the bay
Reka hiva e roou korua	The joyous foreigners you take care
A Hanga-one-one mo mau,	Of Hanga-one-one to carry it,
Mo hata i runga i te ahu	To put it on an ahu
Ui uka o te Peretia.	Where the Belgian girls will see it.

533 539 Short compositions which describe the cause of a feast or in some way allude to it are still sung by the natives. To celebrate the arrival of the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* a few years ago, the natives had a feast at which they sang the following song, contrasting the stinginess of the crew of the *Araucano*, another Chilean ship, with the more generous behavior of the crew of the *Baquedano*.

E rake rake te *Araukano*,	The *Araukano* is bad,
Te nehenehe te *Baquedano*.	The *Baquedano* is good.

Some 20 years ago the natives composed a song in honor of Edmunds, former manager of the Williamson-Balfour Company, whose native nickname was Moni-hiva. The song is still popular.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

533 ●
539

E te Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva,
I tomo ai kia Roa e,
Te Moni-hiva-arenga e.

O Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva,
He landed at Hanga-roa,
O Moni-hiva-arenga.

Estella (79, p. 78) collected five Easter Island songs which are still known by most of the natives. Dr. E. G. Burrows, specialist in Polynesian music, after examining them for me, concludes that these songs are modern Tahitian. Three of the five have a range of one octave, which is possible in what he considers pure Polynesian music but rare, especially in eastern Polynesia. Though none of these songs have a complete European scale, the tonality seems nearer European than Polynesian. None has the characteristic Polynesian emphasis on one principal tone. In rhythm there are some departures from the regular meter of simple European music. This feature is probably Polynesian, for Tahitian *ute* have similar rhythms. 533

No genuine Easter Island music has been recorded. Admiral Byrd made some records of the local music during his short stay on the island. Unfortunately he asked only the young people to sing, and they knew only Tahitian or Chilean songs. Burrows has heard these records and states that the songs were Europeanized either by way of Tahiti or of Chile.

DANCES

One-foot Dances

Admiral Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 230) mentions a hopping dance performed by a few natives who climbed on board the *Venus* and danced to amuse the seamen. The same dance was observed by Geiseler (87, p. 41) in 1886: 535

> The dances are different from the usual Polynesian type. While in Samoa they sit and swing their hips, making movements with the arms, here they stay on one foot and extend the other by jerks following exactly the rhythm of the song. From the movement it could be inferred that the so-called recreational dances were quite immoral.

A modified form of this dance, called *upaupa*, still survives and is very popular among the natives. It is always danced by couples who hold each other by the hand and hop first on one foot, then on the other. After hopping thus for a time, they change hands, the man turns in the opposite direction, and both continue circular hopping movements. Sometimes the partners face each other, hopping continuously on one foot. Nowadays the dance has a European character, and the natives told me that it had been taught to them by a French sailor who had been shipwrecked on the island. Twenty-five years ago the natives performed this dance in a more traditional style, as we may infer from a quotation of Knoche (123, p. 202): "The Katenga is a very obscene dance in which a file of men stand opposite a file of women. The dance consists of jumps on one foot with flexed knee. The bodies are turned alternately to one side and then to the other." [177]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

by the use of other substantives to indicate the nature of a particular tablet (*kohau o te rongo, kohau o te pure*).

As already mentioned (p. 137), the chants associated with the tablets were recited by learned men or bards called *tangata rongorongo*. Reading of the tablets or chanting from them was taught in special huts, comparable to the schools of learning (*whare wananga*) of the Maori. At Te Hare-titaha in Anakena I was shown stone curbs which were supposed to be remains of the most famous school for *rongorongo* men. There were similar houses in other districts. The atmosphere and the methods in these houses of learning were described by some informants on the authority of old men now dead. Unfortunately these traditions are colored by details of the missionary school system:

> The school houses were open sheds with thatched roofs. In the morning the children waited outside the house until they were told by the teacher to enter. To the teacher's salute of *maira* they answered *kokoea*. Each student knelt before a flat stone (*maea rango*), which served as a writing desk. The assistant instructor (*te pahu*) counted the children to find out whether any were missing. The teacher started the lesson by reciting a prayer from a tablet. Then the children were taught to make string figures, each of which was associated with a chant that they must memorize. There were chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish.
>
> Banana leaves were used as copy books and on them the pupils practiced the engraving of signs with a sharp bone from the frigate bird (*makohe*). Te Haha said the copy books were sheaths from the banana trunk (194, p. 214).
>
> According to Routledge, Te Haha was taught by King Nga-ara, but Charli Teao, the nephew of Te Haha, told me that his uncle had been trained by Taki, another uncle of Charli. Taki had been taught by Ngangiriva. Te Haha described King Nga-ara as "holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their *kohau* and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made personally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of *kohau* were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away" (194, p. 245).

Besides the annual gathering and chanting by *rongorongo* men at Orongo during the feast of the bird-man, these learned bards met once a year at Anakena to chant for the king. People came from all over the island to hear them "read" from the tablets. This public "reading" must be considered as a general contest between *rongorongo* men and a test of the ability of each. Visitors arrived with *kuhu* (sticks with feathers) to which turmeric was tied, as a courtesy to the king. The food to be consumed during the feast was supplied by the king, who was aided by people of neighboring districts. Te Haha described to Routledge (194, pp. 245-246) one such gathering, which he attended in his youth:

> Both King Nga-ara and his son, Kaimako . . . sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rongorongo men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the center to the Ariki. Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held *maru* in their hands. If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Nga-ara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?" the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected.

The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Nga-ara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the *maru* in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the *rongorongo* men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoop and the old men stood before him and prayed; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the *rongorongo* men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

In conformance with his supervisory duties Nga-ara is said to have traveled round the island and to have stayed for some while with the experts in each district. Routledge (194, p. 246) heard of a man of the south coast who was considered to be "too big a man to have a school." He also went about visiting and inspecting schools.

Tradition states that when Nga-ara died his body was carried to the ahu on three tablets, followed by the *rongorongo* men. The tablets were buried with him.

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island are better understood when compared with those of the Marquesas and of Mangareva. In the Marquesas the *tuhuna o'ono* was "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He was also the teacher of sacred chants and director of chanting at family feasts. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*. In the Marquesas there were tests of the *tuhuna o'ono* by other members of the same profession and contests between *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes (104, p. 229). Any *tuhuna* who was judged in error by a majority of the masters gathered was immediately deprived of his title and could never lay claim to it again.

On Mangareva also there was a class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were not priests, properly speaking, but were responsible for the sacred chants for important

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

171 533 festivals. They also attended feasts organized by the king or by chiefs to recite genealogies and chants in praise of nobility. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore (28, pp. 304-305).

In the Tuamotus the word *rongo* is applied to formal chants about the exploits or feats of a hero, recited by the *tahunga one*. *Rongo* is also the name of a "mourning chant for a deceased hero."

Reciters and chanters are familiar elements in the general pattern of Polynesian culture, but it is significant that it is only in the eastern part of Polynesia that we find the word *rongorongo* associated with a special class of bards.

171 212 533 The tablets of the Easter Island *rongorongo* were often sticks covered with symbols. In this connection it is important to mention that the *rongorongo* of Mangareva beat the measure with staffs (*kohau*) when chanting. In the Marquesas the ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* was a bundle of three *fau* stakes wrapped in cloth (104, p. 230). Maori orators always held clubs (*taiaha*) in their hands, without which they could not deliver a speech.

TABLETS

114 212 The wooden tablets, covered with rows of small figures, are a puzzle to science and constitute the most complicated problem of Easter Island culture. Though many hypotheses have been, or may be, presented to explain their significance, it is probable that the mystery will never be solved, for data are few.

[322] The so-called hieroglyphs or glyphs of the Easter Island script were incised with shark teeth or sharp obsidian flakes on boards, on sticks, and sometimes on wooden images or ornaments. In the Easter Island collection of Bishop Museum there are small obsidian points which may well have been used for this purpose.

Twenty tablets or fragments of tablets, scattered throughout institutions of the world, have been preserved and a corpus of all the known tablets is being prepared by Dr. Alan S. C. Ross.

The most important collection of all Easter Island tablets is preserved in the Museum de la Congrégation des Sacrés Coeurs de Picpus in Braine-le-Comte (Belgium). The four tablets kept there were collected by the first missionaries to Easter Island and were given to Bishop Tepano Jaussen of Tahiti. The largest one, called Tahua or the "Oar" is 90 cm. long and 14 cm. wide and has 1,547 signs. Another, called Aruku-kurenga, is 41 cm. long and 15.5 cm. wide. A third, called Mamari, is 21 cm. by 30 cm. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, there are two tablets, only one of which is authentic. The other, 23.5 cm. long and 5.2 cm. wide, is probably a fake. (See 97, p. 101, fig. 1, pl. 10.) The little tablet in the British Museum, 21 cm. long and 7.3 cm. wide (58), is not ancient. The tablet made of apple-tree wood in the Lateran Museum, Rome (6442), is a crude fake. Two tablets in the Museum of Santiago de Chile were taken by the *O'Higgins* in 1870; one of these is 35 cm. long and 12 cm. wide, the other is 45 cm. long and 11.5 cm. wide. Two tablets purchased by Thomson in 1886 are in the National Museum, Washington. One tablet is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. There are two tablets in the Museum of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. One of these,

2;Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

[583] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-
585 derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a
[177] Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families.
[583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song
[533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either
439 of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one
648 or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building
135 materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the
342 supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has
[596] resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no
648 difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

761 tablets are guarded by "devils" that will, in extreme cases, kill a man who stumbles
[776 upon such a cave and steals one of the tablets.

177 I had no time nor opportunity to delve into any beliefs that might exist regard-
775 ing what happens to a person after death, but I suspect that here the church has
764 made deep inroads, for the dead are now given the last rites of the church and then buried in a Catholic cemetery.

177 Immediately upon the death of an individual a certain amount of grief will be
764 shown by the immediate kin, but this appears to be more the result of natural
797 shock than of any culturally determined mourning pattern. Between the time of death and the holding of last rites, the body is kept on view in the victim's house, after which it is carried in its coffin to the church where the last rites are administered by the island's priest. As the body is carried from the church to the cemetery
(533) the cortege breaks into song. Some of these are of the slow, religious type, but many have an almost gay lilt. During and after the church services there is no overt expression of mourning on the part of the nearest kin, but as the casket is lowered into the ground a near-hysteria of grief breaks out among the closest relatives of the deceased and is explained by my informants on the basis that this is the final separation from a beloved one.

174 Since, as appears to be the case, the strongest impact of death comes with the
177 physical parting of the dead from the living, one cannot help but wonder if this
764 final show of extreme mourning is a direct result of the more abrupt practices of Christian religion rather than an Easter Island trait of long standing. It was not, after all, many years ago that burial exposure was practiced: by this method, at least the fleshy parts of the body disappear slowly over a length of time — it is only after the bones are left that final burial takes place in a tomb, usually a surface stone structure or a vault within the platform of an *ahu*. The change from a long drawn out physical relationship with the body to a sudden disappearance of a body in a pit, and the change from customary surface burial to sub-surface interment must have required considerable psychological adjustment. Today's overt manifestation of extreme grief as the body is lowered into the ground may, therefore, indicate that this adjustment to a new burial practice is not complete. On the other hand it may, perhaps, reflect a mourning pattern formerly used when the fleshless bones were given their final resting place.

765 During the evening of the day of burial the family of the deceased gives a large *umu* feast, often including music and dancing, for all visitors. At this time there are certain taboos with regard to the eating of the *umu* food by the immediate family. Thus, if a father dies neither his brothers and sisters, his children, nor his wife may partake of the food thus prepared. If a child has died neither

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

212 114 Moreover, there is little question, I believe, that the designs on the tablets were created by natives of Easter Island. It would be difficult to explain on any other assumption the presence among them of so many figures of animals belonging to the local fauna and of objects that are found, as far as is known, in its culture only. Mr. de Hevesy interpreted certain of the Easter Island symbols as representations of monkeys and elephants, but for these suggestions of India's jungle life he drew on his imagination.

212 In the hope of throwing some light on the mystery, I applied to several tablets an analytical method. I counted their symbols and studied their combinations to find out whether they might constitute an actual script. If the symbols represented sounds, the same signs would have been combined in the same order whenever a word was repeated. But this seldom happens. The same combinations of the same symbols recur in only a very few cases. The individual designs are repeated over and over again but apparently in haphazard order. No clue to a script came from this study.

If we might assume that the tablets contain an actual script, the question would arise whether it were pictographic or ideographic. To answer this there are not enough different symbols. Most of them are variants of about a hundred fundamental designs. On certain tablets the same signs form a high percentage of the total.

Assuming that the Easter Island tablets contained a script, I thought it likely for a long time that this was based on the same principle as the designs inscribed on birchbark by the Ojibway Indians, who record charms by means of figures which sometimes remind us of the Easter Island symbols. From the images drawn on bark, the Indian shaman reads a text which, to his mind, they represent. The Cuna Indians of Panama still use the same primitive form of writing.

But one thing made me suspicious of such an interpretation. The Easter Island tablets are pieces of wood of various odd shapes which are always covered with designs from one end to the other and on both sides. If their contents corresponded to a script text, this would mean that the artist always knew in advance just the size and shape of the piece of wood his chant would fill. As this seemed highly improbable, I was obliged to abandon this entire hypothesis and seek for some better clue to the mystery.

212 533 I found it in a link that has been kept between the tablets and the oral traditions, songs, and prayers of the Easter Islanders. The very word that the natives use for the tablets puts us on the right track. They are called *kohau rongorongo*, which means literally "orator staff"—that is, the stick, sometimes decorated with carved symbols, sometimes not—which a speaker holds in his hands while making a public address or reciting a piece of traditional lore, as if to give added significance to his words. The *rongorongo* were professional chanters

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

who formed a society, which existed not only on Easter Island but also on other Polynesian islands. In childhood they were taught in special schools to memorize and to recite the lore of their tribe.

Everywhere in Polynesia the chanters use such an "orator staff." Sometimes, as in New Zealand, the staffs are provided with notches, which are supposed to help in reciting genealogical tables. In the Marquesas, the chanters held, while chanting, a bundle made of string wound about with knotted ends hanging down, which was thought of as containing the substance of the chant though the connection between the words and the contents of the bundle was loose. The bundles symbolized the chants and were in consequence of paramount importance. They were solemnly given to the young people after they had been initiated into the lore of their ancestors.

These facts, I concluded, give us the best clue in the problem of the Easter Island tablets. To its chanters as to the chanters of other islands, the "orator staffs" were the accessories and the symbols of their function. Originally, the designs on the staffs or tablets might have been mnemonic, but later on they lost their exact significance in the minds of the natives and were looked upon merely as simple ornaments or magic symbols. It may be added that even now we can observe on Easter Island a slight relation that has been preserved between design and chant. The natives are in the habit of chanting when they make string figures or cat's cradles. This interpretation of the tablets may not contain the whole truth about them. I offer it rather as the hypothesis which best fits the facts available today, and which harmonizes also with what we know of an underlying tendency in Polynesian civilization.

But these are not all the questions that have been raised by Easter Island. Some observers have found in the well-carved and well-fitted stones of its sanctuaries likenesses and relations to the ancient remains in Peru, and to account for them have said that there must have been intercourse between these two parts of the world at some period of history. But close study has revealed that between the Peruvian and the island ruins the resemblances do not go beyond the general fact of an exact fitting of the stones. The plan and the structure of the Peruvian buildings are entirely different. In Peru the walls are all of carved stone blocks, whereas in Easter Island they consist of slabs set on edge outside with rubble behind. The only conspicuous architectural achievement of the Easter Islanders was to select the slabs and to dress their corners so that no gap would appear on the surface and impair the general appearance. This they could naturally have learned to do without crossing the Pacific in frail canoes and making the long journey inland to the site of the wonderful ruins in Peru. Moreover, these are certainly far older than the Easter Island sanctuaries. Thus it seems clear that we must

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

bottom of which was a gourd covered with a stone to act as a drum. On the top of this a man danced, being hidden out of sight in the hole.

In other cases, two, or perhaps three, boats were constructed inside the house, the masts of which went through the roof; these boats were manned with crews clad in the garments of European sailors, the gifts from passing vessels being kept as stage properties. Fresh music was composed for every occasion, and in one song, which was quoted, much reference is made to the "red face of the captain from over the seas." The position of chief performer was one of great honour, being analogous, on a glorified scale, to the leader of a cotillon of our own day. It was stated by an old man that his great-grandfather had so acted, and even the words sung were still remembered. Te Haha, a Miru (fig. 83), gave us to understand that he had been a great social success in his youth, and counted up three koro, and seven haré-até-atua at which he had been present. As he was a handsome old man, and was connected with the court of the chief Ngaara, his pride of recollection was very probably justified. Juan, mixing up, no doubt, recollections of a later date, gave a vivid representation on one of these spots of the pseudo-captain striding about and using very strong language, while he called upon the engineer to "make more smoke so that the ship should go fast."

The Miru Clan

On the border-line, between religion and magic, wherever, if anywhere, that line exists, was the position of the clan known as the Miru. Members of this group had, in the opinion of the islanders, the supernatural and valuable gift of being able to increase all food supplies, especially that of chickens, and this power was particularly in evidence after death. It has been known that certain skulls from Easter are marked with designs, such as the outline of a fish; these are crania of the Miru, and called "puoko-moa," or fowl-heads, because they had, in particular, the quality of making hens lay eggs (fig. 96). Hotu, the Miru, whose mother, it may be remembered, was the victim of a cannibal feast, made his own skull an heirloom, as "it was so extremely good for chickens," that he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it